FRAGMENT

OF A

LETTER

TO A

FRIEND,

RELATIVE TO THE

REPEAL OF THE TEST.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED IN THE YEAR M.DCC.LXXX.

Ф Я Х О Ш Е Л Ь

Г Е Т Т Л Е Р

Т Я Е Б Н Ь,

Я Г Е Д А Л, О Т Ш Б Г Е Р Т.

Д А Ю З Е Л Е Н:

FRAGMENT
OF A
LETTER, &c.

* * * * No! No! my dear Friend! There are not grounds for your apprehenſions. Juſtly and clearly as you reaſon about the unavoidable conſequences, if it ſhould happen, you ſeem to argue weakly, and with a tinge of the natural timidity of your temper, when you offer ſuch arguments for the probability of its paſſing, as ſuppoſe a groſs ignorance in all people of rank and power, with regard to the ſentiments and principles of the different denominations of men in this country.

Such a groſs ignorance prevailed indeed in the Engliſh Miniſtry, when in the year

1732 or 1733, Government here had it in direction to forward an attempt towards taking off the TEST. It appears ſufficiently from BOULTER's Letters, that every particle of the ideas of the people at the helm, on the other ſide of the channel, concerning the tempers and inclinations, and opinions of the Iriſh, was either totally wrong or exceedingly indiſtinct. The event even then ſhewed them how much they were miſtaken in one point: and it has been from a diſcovery of their error in others, and not merely from a deſpair of ſucceſs, that the attempt has never been renewed. They have often had ſuch ſuperiority of numbers in both Houſes of Parliament, that they might have flattered themſelves with hopes of ſucceſs, had they either wiſhed it for its own ſake, or thought it likely to be agreeable to any number of perſons worth obliging.

Do you not obſerve how different the caſe is now? That which was formerly a favourite object with Miniſters, is now brought in

in by the very refuſe of oppoſition. However uninformed you may ſuppoſe the K——g's Counſellors to be, of the merits, the conſequence, or wiſhes of individuals, on this ſide, be aſſured they know enough to diſcern at a glance, that there muſt be a great dearth of reſpectable characters among the favourers of ſuch a Bill, when they ſuffer it to go with the name of ſuch a fellow for its mover as Sir ———. To ſpeak in the mercantile ſtyle, the name of the *drawer* of the Bill, is not likely to procure it *honour* or *acceptance*. I do not mean on account of the fury and indecency, wherewith he has always oppoſed Gov———, at firſt from mercenary motives, and ſince in revenge for their not ſuffering him at once to take their pay as a placeman, and to act as an avowed hireling againſt them. No! I mean on account of the general idea which all men of all parties, who poſſeſs any knowledge of the world, have of the ridiculous baſeneſs of his conduct and character.

You

You in the country converſe with many well-meaning people, who never exalt their notions of impudence and abſurdity ſo high, as to reflect by what perſons the panegyrics they ſee in news-papers are compoſed, or who they are who preſume to deliver or direct the opinion of the public. It does not occur to them, that they take for what is called *the voice of God*, the clattering of a printer's journeyman; the knavery of a wretch who inſerts any thing on one ſide gratis, however ſilly and wicked, and will not admit any argument, or repreſentation on the other, without unconſcionable payment; nay, (and I can carry it no further) often what is written by Sir * * * * * himſelf. But ſurely you cannot ſuppoſe that people of any conſiderable rank, or general intercourſe, are ſo deceived. The indiſcriminate ribaldry of thoſe papers has rendered it the intereſt of every man in ſtation, and of many in private life, to trace, and enquire concerning their authors: and the reſult has been, that they are ſuffered to go on, not only without legal

legal enquiry, but even without anſwer. And this effect of contempt you take for conviction. Would any man, think you, of judgment, of knowledge, or of reputation, engage in ſuch a dirty conteſt as it muſt be, with thoſe ſmatterers of a neighbouring kingdom, who are in any ſenſe, or in every ſenſe, perhaps, *compoſers* and *letter-men* for the licentious preſſes? Men of the ſame caſt have got poſſeſſion of the news-papers here: and of ſeveral of thoſe, and of the *reviews* in London, and for purpoſes equally laudable. And the conſequence has been, that, as no man of real learning pays any regard to the latter, ſo no man of political prudence or information is any way influenced by the former.

I grant, that with regard to the tenets, the doctrine, and diſcipline of the PRESBYTERIANS, there may be a very great degree of ignorance and indifference, though perhaps not in the bulk of the people, yet among thoſe who are to determine for the people:

people: that if any man converſant in ſuch ſubjects were to tell many a miniſter, or many a legiſlator, of the inconſiſtence of theſe with ſcripture and primitive practice, or their probable ill effects on religious belief or feelings,—*ſurdo narraret.* Nay, perhaps were he to go further, and inſiſt, that if ever in morals or politics a point were capable of demonſtration, it was this, that the principles of the Preſbyterians rendered them unfit to be truſted with power; that they hold opinions in their conſequences totally ſubverſive of civil liberty, and civil peace, and the rights of mankind; that their favourite doctrine of the independence of the *Kirk* upon the ſtate, (*i. e.* the ſovereignty of the former) was the very doctrine which had, in the perſons of the Roman Pontiffs, trampled upon Emperors, and bowed to ſlavery the neck of Gothic freedom, through ſo large a portion of the globe: that it was the very *imperium in imperio* that *Tindal* ſo unfairly charges upon a church, whoſe diſtinguiſhing principle is an avowal of its dependence, and

which

which *Voltaire* ſo wickedly imputes to the religion at large, whoſe watch-words are *peace* and ſubmiſſion:—that this, I ſay, is to be found among the *Diſſenters*, however cruſhed and concealed, and even now often impedes the operation of law, and bears hard on the rights and property of individuals:——were our reaſoner to go on, and aſk, what uſe muſt they be expected to make of power, among whom reſtleſs intolerance was not merely a favourite habit, a practice avowed and defended, when they durſt; but a formally, dogmatically, authentically eſtabliſhed article of their confeſſion, an article which not only their clergy were bound to inculcate, to which not only every man that accepts any office in their church is obliged to ſubſcribe, but to which even every parent who brings his child to baptiſm, is obliged implicitly to aſſent?—It would not perhaps be believed that bigotry and perſecution lay at the root of that profeſſion, whoſe followers make ſuch loud exclamations againſt theſe; and that they roared out *ſtop the thief*, with the ſtolen goods in their pockets.

But

But were this irrefragably proved, as it can be, from their catechiſm, authenticated by the *Weſtminſter confeſſion* (their ſtandard) ſubſcribed by their clergy, and aſſented to, as I ſaid, by every individual among them: ——were this catechiſm produced, in which *tolerating a falſe religion* is enumerated among the modes of violating the ſecond commandment:——(now by a falſe religion every man means what differs from his own; and how far the practice has been a comment on the rule, a ſmall acquaintance with facts will elucidate)—— what can we ſuppoſe would be effect of this diſcourſe?

Why, a miniſter who had any point in view might anſwer, that it was no great matter what people's principles were, for that nobody acted up to the principles they held and avowed.—But an honeſt country gentleman would ſay, that was but a bad ſort of religion to encourage, the beſt thing to be ſaid for which was, that its profeſſors neglected or violated it. And if (as might very poſſibly be the caſe) though he

he did not much trouble his religion himſelf, he yet liked it well enough for his wife and children, he would not chuſe to do any thing that might endanger his being forced out of it, or give even a ſmall encreaſe to the poſſibility of *Domine*'s becoming his ſpiritual tyrant.

Should a few of the more poliſhed and faſhionable diſſenters about the capital diſclaim the *Weſtminſter confeſſion*, and all confeſſions, creeds, ſymbols, eccleſiaſtical laws and rules whatever; talk of the impertinence of human forms intruding on men of their ſuperior refinement: ſhould they exclaim that, as they did not know what they might think or believe of chriſtianity to-morrow, they would not be obliged to declare what they thought or believed to-day; that requiring them to do ſo, would be as ill-breeding, as it would be ungallant to inſiſt on a fine lady's telling her mind; —that their oppoſition to the church of England was not ſo much for any fault they found with that old piece of gothic

work

work in particular; (they would not ſay, but that for an old-faſhioned thing it looked venerable enough) but they diſliked all ſuch heavy and clumſy ſtructures:—that every man ought to have a pretty little religion of his own, like a garden-box, which he might turn what way, and transfer to what place he thought beſt; and not be obliged to repair to a huge enormous pile, large enough to take in a whole country, with a pinnacle a great deal too high, and the doors too ſtrong and thick—in ſhort that they were

Agreed in nothing but t' aboliſh,
Confound, extirpate, and demoliſh.

"Softly! gentlemen," would not a ſtateſman ſay, who loved the peace and ſtability of his country, and wiſhed *in the peace thereof to have peace?* (as all ſtateſmen devoutly do) "This pile, againſt which you "are ſo impatient to wield the axe and the "hammer, makes a conſiderable part of the "entire ſtructure of the national conſtitu-"tion. It ſeems to be in a ſtyle of archi-

"tecture

"tecture in pretty good harmony with the
"reſt. The whole together looks tolerably
"well, and has weathered many a hard
"ſtorm. How far the roof might be damag-
"ed, or the foundation endangered, by
"your pulling down this wing, I have
"ſome grounds to dread. Beſides other rea-
"ſons I may have, I obſerve no national
"ſtructure is without ſuch an appendage.
"You'l excuſe me, therefore, if I wiſh to
"have the care of this building entruſted
"to others, than you gentlemen over-
"throwers."

But be the principles jointly or ſeverally held among them what they may, the truth is, that the whole mingled maſs of them is viewed by the bulk of men of the world, not ſo much in the light of a religious ſect, as of a reſtleſs and acrimonious political faction. And this idea of them, which is the moſt natural for ſuch obſervers to entertain, is likewiſe the one which the cloſeſt attention to their proceedings will juſtify, from the period when a Teacher was held criminal,

criminal, and cited by the Preſbytery, if he did not *preach the Times*, down to theſe latter days, when Captain W——— made electioneering harangues from their Pulpits on Sundays, and when in another County, the report of avowed infidelity was ſuppoſed to have promoted the intereſt of a Candidate, becauſe, as ſuch, they thought they could rely upon him as an enemy to the eſtabliſhment.

And this aſpect of things explains ſome phænomena which are otherwiſe inexplicable—Why in matters no way connected with their religion, they act as an united body, and in every little conteſt or job, cling together againſt men of other denominations, however divided and violent, on other occaſions, among themſelves.—Why ſo many among them, who ſtyle themſelves Miniſters of the Goſpel, (the Goſpel of peace and meekneſs) are leaders and patterns of pragmatical turbulence.—Why thoſe of their Miniſters who are meek and gentle, modeſt and humble in their manners, moderate in their ſentiments, and ſtudious of peace and quiet, meet with cold regard,

and

and but half approbation: and why they are ſo anxious for the repeal of the Teſt, when it is well known they do not, they cannot conſider it as a real grievance, individually. I ſhould be glad to know how many in a hundred for ſeveral years paſt, who had the leaſt likelihood of an employment, made the leaſt ſcruple of qualifying legally. It is a well-known fact, that ſeveral of their teachers approved, and recommended to a perſon of ſome fortune of their party, to receive the Sacrament according to the form of the Church of England, to qualify, as Sheriff of the Co—— of ———. Why then, is it aſked, are they ſo anxious for the repeal? Why? Becauſe not ſatisfied with getting in, one by one, unnoticed, at the wicket, they would have the gates thrown open wide, and march in triumphantly in a body, with colours flying.—Were I of the Garriſon, I ſhould grievouſly ſuſpect they who acted thus wanted not merely admittance, but to be immediate maſters of the Town.

When

When this is ſo well known, what effect, (think you) can their uſurping on this occaſion the ſacred names of conſcience and religious ſcruple, have with people of ſenſe? Why, much the ſame as the greateſt and moſt ſacred names have, when profaned by a mendicant, in enforcing that importunity, which we ſuppoſe employed not for his real and pitiable diſtreſs.

Taking them, therefore, in that view in which every man engaged in affairs will conſider them, it is their conduct, not their profeſſions, that will determine the notion to be formed, how far they are deſerving of encouragement, or that encouragement likely to be uſeful. And in forming this eſtimate, the virtues of individuals (and no doubt there muſt be many among them highly amiable and reſpectable) will not hinder the obſerver from pronouncing on the general colour and complexion of the main body, as that which in buſineſs muſt be conſidered as the whole.

They call themſelves a loyal, patriotic, induſtrious, and uſeful people. But are

men

men of power, or these of property, dupes to clamour, or ignorant of facts? Do they not know too well the nature and sum of what is thus honoured with the name of *loyalty*? It is true, they chose rather to be under protection of a Protestant Prince than to have their lives and properties at the mercy of Papists, in hostility against whom, they had, besides, a disinterested gratification. It is true, likewise, that from the Revolution, down to the time when all idea of a Popish Successor vanished, they professed, addressed, and talked, like violent adherents to the illustrious family on the Throne, whenever they had an opportunity of insinuating that they were singularly so. They hinted their own zeal and attachment much in the same candid and modest manner, that honest Sir John Falstaff does his valour. "There are but three good men," saith the worthy Knight, "unhanged in "England, and one of them is fat, and "grows old, Heaven help the while. Go "thy ways, old Jack! Die when thou wilt, "if manhood, goodmanhood, be not for-"gotten on the face of the earth, then am

"I a ſhotten herring."——To be ſerious; I do not impute their dealing in ſuch inſinuations entirely to wicked motives, for probably there was a mixture in it of abſurd and narrow prejudice. But as ſoon as they themſelves were convinced that no purpoſe of oppoſition or diſtinction could be ſerved by it, they dropped their talk of loyalty and fidelity. Now, their language, where they dare to let it out, is too often rank *Republicaniſm*, and railing at M——y itſelf, and impudently preſuming to deal the appellations of *Tyrant*, and *Papiſt at heart* to ——. I am too much ſhocked to go on. But do you think theſe things are unknown? *A Bird of the air ſhall carry the voice, and that which hath wings ſhall tell the matter.*

That affection or reſpect for his Prince, or a conſcientious ſubmiſſion to the Laws of his country, is no ingredient of the vulgar loyalty, in that part of the kingdom where the people in queſtion moſt abound, is no ſecret to thoſe of greateſt property among them. They are moſt intereſted in

the

the effects of the diſpoſition of the multitude. And do you not ſuppoſe they have informed Government and Members properly? Nay, muſt not barely calling to mind the names of HEARTS OF OAK and HEARTS OF STEEL, evince, that this people have in their blood an *Itch* of Rebellion, ever prone to break out unprovoked, and which is to be radically cured only by a *due* preparation of ſulphur.

When deſtitute of forces and threatened with invaſion, the inhabitants of ſome places on the coaſt in the North, and many both maritime and inland in the ſouthern parts of the Kingdom, armed, embodied, and diſciplined themſelves. It was done originally with the moſt open, candid, and unſuſpicious declaration of their intentions. They profeſſed themſelves ready to defend their King, Country, and Conſtitution. In the South they tended their ſervices to Government; offered to join the Military, and march where commanded. The body of the People, in the Counties where the Diſſenting intereſt prevailed, took arms at

length.—If for the defence of the Kingdom, why ſo late? If to fight the battles of their Sovereign, why refuſe (as they did in bodies) to take the Oath of Allegiance? Why deal in dark and myſterious threats, and leave it doubtful to thoſe watched cloſeſt, what part numbers of them would take, in caſe the Standard of Invaſion ſhould croſs the Fleurs de Lys with the thirteen ſtripes. Why in their public feſtivity, did they ſcornfully and ſullenly refuſe to drink his M——y's health—for, THEY WERE AMERICANS: and why, even down to the loweſt of their orders, were the traiterous ſophiſtry, and gloomy, long-winded, incendiary declamation of OWEN ROE O'NIAL, received with ſuch greedineſs and retailed with ſuch reliſh? From what quarter originated that infernal attempt to induce Iriſh Proteſtants to approve and truſt the arms of France? Why from *that quarter*, at this moment, is the cloven foot diſcovered, and iſſues there a wiſh to blow up the ſpark of diſcord again, and to ſeek for cauſes of diſaffection*, when

* *See Reſolutions of the* NEWRY *Volunteers, Dec.* 27, 1779.

by

by the wiſe and generous policy of Britiſh Adminiſtration, the nobleſt Spirits of the Oppoſition on this ſide are induced to declare ſatisfaction and pronounce applauſe? —Is this a warm zeal for their Country? No! for while their Country laboured conſtitutionally, legally, and ſpiritedly, for the Freedom of its Trade, from *that very quarter* came its embaraſſment. That was *the quarter* which hindered the effect of Non-importation agreements, by refuſing to join in them, and becoming the vehicle for Scotch and Engliſh manufactures, and diffuſing them throughout the Kingdom, when the Ports of the Capital and other Places were in effect ſhut againſt them.

Such notoriouſly is northern PRES——N LOYALTY and PATRIOTISM!—Theſe are the *ſubjects!* theſe the *citizens!* whom you ſuppoſe their rulers, and their country likely to compliment with indulgence, and entruſt with power, in critical and dangerous times. If the facts I allude to were to become the object of public diſcuſſion, they might perhaps be denied with clamorous

effrontery. But they are not therefore leſs true, or leſs certainly known.

But the people we ſpeak of are an induſtrious, uſeful people.——I grant that ſettling in the moſt fertile ſoils of Ulſter, and having left the mountainous and unreclaimed lands either to be inhabited by Iriſh tenants, or to lie in the natural and horrid ſtate, they have with unceaſing, but with grudging, ſelfiſh, unimproving aſſiduity, from year to year, ſcratched their oats out of the ſoil, without ſkilful or liberal agriculture, without neatneſs, without melioration, without planting, or what deſerves the name of encloſure. If after a number of years occupying, they leave the ſoil no worſe, it is as much as their poſterity, their landlords, or the public can hope from them. Not like tenants of Engliſh blood, who cannot ſettle for any time without rendering the lands more valuable and more beautiful. The very eye, I am aſſured, can often diſcern from a high point of view the ſtriking contraſt, and trace what portions of the country have been Engliſh ſettle-

ſettlements, as eaſily as national faces can be diſtinguiſhed. Here, the comely aſpect of the country indicates neatneſs, plenty, and chearful induſtry. There, the hard-featured region ſuggeſts the ideas of want, or ſullenneſs or malignity. And this may be one among the reaſons why the people I ſpeak of ſeem to diſcover ſo little of that attachment to the ſoil, that love of the place, which however perhaps, unphiloſophical, is connected with ſome of the beſt movements of the human heart, and is one of the ſureſt foundations for the virtues of an uſeful ſubject, and the ſureſt pledges a man can give to ſociety for his being ſuch. The Iriſh conſider themſelves as aborigines. The Engliſhman either loves his old hereditary trees, or wherever ſet down, renders the the country amiable, and grows fond of it, becauſe it is ſo, and becauſe he has made it ſo. But to the other people,

The name of COUNTRY, with a joyleſs ſound
Flies o'er the ear, nor warms their frozen hearts.

THEY KNOW NO COUNTRY.

Scotland, Ireland, and America are alike to them. As in whatever ſpot of the globe they fix, they are, what a wicked wit ſays he would be in Heaven, *ſlovenly and ſad*, they muſt regard the place with cold inſenſibility. It has no attractions, or they have no feelings. Hence, for one cauſe, aroſe their proneneſs to *emigration*; and that when by long peace and protection, Ulſter became crowded with people, they did not ſet themſelves to improve agriculture, reclaim waſtes, or ſettle in the leſs populous paſturage counties; they declined every one of theſe ways of ſerving themſelves and the public. With regard to the laſt particularly, they were obſtinate againſt every invitation: or when they accepted encouraging leaſes, often ſold them for a profit, and retired from the ſituations, where they might have been moſt uſeful. They abandoned the iſland which had foſtered them, and carried to thoſe who are to be the enemies or rivals of Britain and Ireland, that manufacture, whoſe growth had been owing not ſo much to their induſtry, (to their integrity much leſs) as to the immenſe encouragement

couragement given by the nation, and the vigilance of the legiſlature and truſtees, to repreſs thoſe frauds, which would have ruined the credit, and with it the vent of Iriſh linens.

And do you think that government will be moved by theſe merits, and plant a thorn in their own ſide, by admitting into a participation of power, to plague them, a faction whoſe principle of political exiſtence is oppoſition reaſonable or unreaſonable? On the preſent footing, one ſet of occaſions of parliamentary diſcord and diſturbance, which often agitated our anceſtors, and embroiled public affairs, is pretty well avoided. For each member, in effect, having profeſſed acquieſcence in the religious eſtabliſhment, as tolerable at leaſt, they cannot wage open hoſtility, or profeſs a purpoſe of overturning it. But on the footing things would be, were the TEST repealed, is it not obvious that a wildneſs of ſectarian violence, in and out of the H——, would be aſſumed by thoſe who wiſhed to ſupply the want of merit and conſequence in their counties.

dounties, by flattering the more tumultuous or ignorant of the people? Would not the more reſpectable be obliged to go lengths, and make conceſſions very diſagreeable to themſelves, in order not to be totally outſtripped by upſtarts, who (as it has already happened) may make uſe of the keen acrimony of a prejudiced vulgar, and their turbulent ingratitude againſt their benefactors or the deſcendants of benefactors, in order by ſuch methods, though deſtitute alike of abilities, reputation, confidential fortune, or decent connection, to ſupplant the families, under the ſhade of which their's perhaps have ſprung up from the dirt? And do you think the *gentlemen* of Ulſter wiſh for more of this treatment? Are they not ſenſible that when the veſſel is ſet a boiling, the ſcum works uppermoſt? Do not they, and miniſterial men, and all men know, that for this reaſon, fellows without rank, property, talents, or character, are often the moſt prone to be incendiaries, and moſt likely to do miſchief? Are not ſuch men on the watch, not to do real ſervices to the people, or to remove real evils, but to find

out

out ſomething to complain of as a grievance, that they may curry favour, create merit, and kindle a party among *moody beggars*, (as the great poet calls them) the loweſt and conſequently the moſt deſperate and diſcontented of the rabble? The very tranſaction we are now conſidering affords a ſtriking inſtance of the conduct and ſpirit I deſcribe. Is it not well known that many of the moſt wealthy and otherwiſe reſpectable among the diſſenters, have often and without reſerve declared, that they never ſolited this matter, nor were conſulted about it.

Do not the gentlemen of Ireland in general ſee that in this laſt criſis, the Ultonian ſectaries have given plain marks of ſentiments not connected with the common intereſt of the kingdom? And will they in return, ſacrifice or even endanger the peace of their country to gratify them? Do not all know that the law now talked of to be repealed, was one of thoſe which cloſed the ſcene of blood, of which this unhappy iſland had been long the theatre, and that almoſt

all

all the peace it has enjoyed, and little advances it has made towards proſperity, for centuries, have been ſince the TEST was enacted? All this appears to me ſo plain, that I am weary of enforcing ſuch known truths as theſe are, and removing ſuch imaginary terrors as your's ſeem to be.

But they are a numerous people, and it may be of ill conſequence if they be diſobliged.——The meaning of this I ſuppoſe to be, either that there is danger of their rebelling, or that they will emigrate, if refuſed this point. Of the danger of their rebelling let their enemies talk. God forbid their friends ſhould repreſent them abandoned enough to engage in ſuch abſurd and ruinous wickedneſs? The moſt moderate and beſt informed among them I am ſure have too much ſenſe and principle, not to deteſt it. With regard to rank and fortune, there are not two, throughout the whole northern province, either of one or the other, who profeſs themſelves diſſenters. The people

of

of Ireland in general, would not only tell them, like *Trinculo*, "you ſhall rebel by "yourſelves," but be ready to defend their properties againſt the then diſturbers, as they have now been the deſerters of their country.—If we could for a moment ſuppoſe—ſuppoſe! nay, that is a word which implies rationality. But could we for a moment enterain the horrid dream, that they are capable of it, muſt it not occur even to a dreamer, that Ulſter is a country incapable of ſubſiſting but by tranquility, ſupplied with a great part of its food, both corn and fleſh from other parts of the kingdom, and depending for the purchaſe of them on its manufacture? If it were poſſible to be ſo malevolent towards any ſet of human creatures, a man of more politics than feelings might even wiſh the experiment tried, that the virulent, if any among them are ſo, might ſhew the extent of their virulence, and impotence at once, and neither the executive nor legiſlative be any longer bugbeared with a faction, or embrace an enemy in their boſoms.

Will

Will they emigrate?—To be ſure, if a man has a mind to emigrate, his having a couſin an Exciſeman will keep him at home. Strong as my perſuaſion may be of the aſpiring and domineering ſpirit among them, (for a violently democratical man is generally a Tyrant, as his family too well know, and his wiſh is not ſo much freedom as a ſhare of command) I do not believe that individuals among them, would be ready, on this principle alone, to forſake eaſe, protection, accommodations, and ready ſale for the produce of their labour, to go live in a deſert, merely becauſe the cannot govern.

But this *repeal* will gain them over, and render them affectionate.—Would I could think ſo! But it has been too often experienced, and therefore is too well known, that general favours do not excite their gratitude, but are imputed by them to an awe of their conſequence, and a dread of their numbers, and do therefore only embolden them to demand further conceſſions. And of this, the conduct of their friends

hath

hath juſt now furniſhed a proof, Even before the firſt favour is granted, have they not menaced in P——t And is not their requeſt backed with a demand for another alteration of law, in a point of itſelf of no conſequence, only as it ſhews a ſtudy to hunt for grievances that were not thought of, and to ſet the minds of people fermenting on matters in which they had acquieſced.

The true and ſure method, therefore, is obvious, and of conſequence muſt be known; to act neither unjuſtly nor raſhly, to withhold no right of Citizens; to entruſt no power without ſecurity given. The diſtinction between the Rights of Subjects, which are life, liberty, and property protected; and Employments, which are favours and truſts to be conferred according to merit and political prudence, is ſo plain, that I cannot ſuppoſe it miſtaken, except wilfully. The former, attended with every circumſtance of conſequence to induſtry, every proviſion for their promoting and ſharing in the public happineſs, I believe it the ſincere

wiſh

wiſh of the generality to have continued to them.—He muſt be an ill-natured *Egyptian* who becauſe he finds in Hiſtory that there was once a plague of Frogs that over-run the Land, would wiſh to deprive the ſpecies of any advantage, ſo long as they kept in their natural and proper ſituation. Let them enjoy every Frog-fitting ſatisfaction, and croak their pleaſures. But on the other hand, he muſt be an unpatriotic *Egytian* who would not feel ſome averſion to the thought of what had happened happening again; and who would not think it his duty to do every thing conſiſtent with juſtice and mercy, to prevent the return of thoſe days, when *the Land brought forth Frogs, yea even in their King's chambers.*

* * * * * * *

Galway, Jan. 4, 1780.

F I N I S.

281145